

The LIBRARY CHRONICLE

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

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ONLY THE ADVENTUROUS CAN
UNDERSTAND THE ADVENTURES
OF THE PAST . . . A RACE
PRESERVES ITS VIGOR SO LONG
AS IT HARBORS A REAL CONTRAST
BETWEEN WHAT HAS BEEN AND
WHAT MAY BE . . . AND SO LONG
AS IT IS NERVED BY THE VIGOR
TO ADVENTURE BEYOND THE
SAFETIES OF THE PAST . . . WITH-
OUT ADVENTURE CIVILIZATION
IS IN FULL DECAY . . . WHITEHEAD

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VOL. II

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The Anesthesia Collection

at

The University of Texas
Medical Branch Library, Galveston

OCTOBER 16, 1946, is the centennial of the first successful demonstration of anesthesia in a surgical operation. With growing popular interest in the subject, and with the rapid development of its technical and professional aspects in Texas, under the leadership of Dr. Harvey Slocum, at the Medical Branch, it is appropriate to consider what classic literature in the field is possessed by our Library.

Control of pain incident to surgical operations was an unsolved but pressing problem for centuries. While alcoholic concoctions must early have been used, following recognition of their stupefying effects, they were not satisfactory because of the delirium they produced. The early Egyptian surgeons were skillful and wise operators, as we know from the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, written about 1800 B.C., and now in New York. However, they apparently had no way of relieving operative pain, to judge from the translation and commentary made by J. H. Breasted (University of Chicago Press, 1930, 2 vols., copy in our Library). Nevertheless, prescriptions in the Hearst Medical Papyrus, written about 1500 B.C., and now at the University of California, indicate attempts to devise preparations for pain relief, especially by local application of soothing herbs and astringent casts for broken bones.

(Mss. translation and commentary in our Library). Preserved bas-reliefs indicate that pressure was used on nerves or blood vessels in order to cause insensibility in the part to be operated upon.

Graeco-Roman surgeons seemed to have tried both general and local anesthesia. Dioscorides, the surgeon of Nero, describes preparations of mandragora to relieve pain in operations. This plant contains substances like atropine, which stupefy, and which also have local anesthetic action. Our Library contains several fine editions of Dioscorides, owned and on deposit (*Dioscoridis Opera Omnia*, Greek with Latin translation and commentary by J. A. Saracenus of Lyon, 1598; P. A. Matthioli's first Latin edition, with wood-cuts and commentary, Venice, 1554). We would like to have the first printed edition of 1478 and the Aldine Greek text of 1499!

The surgeons of the Middle Ages used various modifications of the Dioscoridean "sleeping draught." The *Antidotarium* of Nicholas of the 13th Century School of Salerno refers to a "soporific sponge," which was steeped in a mixture of mulberry juice, lettuce, mandragora, hemlock, opium, and hyoscyamus, to be "inhaled" by the patient, who was to be awakened after the operation by applying fennel-juice to the nostrils. This recipe was also used by the great French surgeon, Guy de Chauliac (1300-1379). It was referred to by Marlowe (*Jew of Malta*, Act V, Sc. 1):

"I drank of poppy and cold mandrake juice
And being asleep, belike they thought me dead."

On deposit in our Library is the J. Costus version of Nicholas, in a 16th Century folio collection (Venice, 1589), and one of M. L. Joubert's 17th Century editions of *La Grande Chirurgie* of Chauliac (Lyon, 1659).

It is remarkable that ether was discovered and a hint of its anesthetic power observed three centuries before it was deliberately used for anesthesia. One of the most brilliant Renaissance medical scientists was Valerius Cordus (1515-1544),

who died too young from malaria. Carrying forward the work of his father Euricius, who had taught him, Valerius made the first great advance in European botany since Dioscorides, and devised the first workable pharmacopeia, in the formulary he prepared for adoption legally by the City of Nuremberg. His most interesting achievement, however, was to mark clearly the transition from the mystical ends of alchemy to the rational methods of chemistry. About 1540 young Cordus found that by distilling strong biting wine (alcohol) with sour oil of vitriol (sulphuric acid), he could obtain a sweet, highly volatile liquid, the "sweet oil of vitriol," which would cause salivation, but which, as noted by the renowned Paracelsus (1493-1541), was harmless, since chickens were observed to drink it with no other effect than to fall asleep. The careful scientific account of the method of preparing ether was first published in the collected works of Cordus, issued by Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) in Strassburg in 1561. Our Library has on deposit the *Dispensatorium* of Cordus (Nuremberg, 1592), and the German surgical folio of Paracelsus (Frankfort, 1596).

Surgery received great stimulus from the practical contributions of the French army surgeon, Ambroise Paré (1510-1590). Our Library has the fine French folio Paris edition of 1628 of Paré's collected works, while on deposit is the superb first English edition (London, 1634). Under Paré's influence surgeons developed sleight-of-hand dexterity, which was probably a big factor in their success without either anesthesia or asepsis. Patients were drugged before operations with various mixtures of opium (the tincture of which was introduced by Paracelsus) and wines or brandies. They continued, however, to scream and struggle during an operation, and the search went on to find some way of quieting them.

The solution came with the rise of chemistry in the 18th century, and with the practical sense of Americans in the 19th. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), the English clergyman-chemist, who fled the mob to find peace in Pennsylvania, discovered the

gases oxygen and nitrous-oxide about 1772. The significance of oxygen was revealed by the quantitative studies of the French Revolution martyr, A. L. Lavoisier (1743-1794). While our Library possesses early editions in French and English of Lavoisier's work, we lack Priestley material.

Medicine usually reflects important new ideas in other sciences. Interest in gases, aroused by Lavoisier's studies, resulted in the founding of the Pneumatic Institute in Clifton, England, by Thomas Beddoes (1760-1808). His first "Director of Experiments" was the youthful Humphry Davy (1778-1829), who investigated on animals and on himself the effects of inhaling various gases. In 1800 he published *Researches, Chemical and Philosophical; Chiefly Concerning Nitrous Oxide* from London, in which he described devices for measuring gases, and in which he fully noted the pain-relieving and stupefying effects of nitrous oxide. My fine inscribed copy of this book was left in San Francisco; we need a copy here!

Like Davy, his pupil Michael Faraday suggested practical anesthesia. Faraday (1791-1867) in 1818 proposed ether, and by implication nitrous oxide, as possible soporifics. Henry Hill Hickman (1800-1830), a romantic Shropshire physician, experimented with carbon-dioxide and nitrous oxide anesthesia in animals, but could not arouse interest. His *Letter on Suspended Animation* (Ironbridge, 1824), is rare, and we wish we had a copy! Years later his discovery of the anesthetic power of carbon-dioxide was confirmed by Paul Bert, and again demonstrated by Ralph Waters and myself at Wisconsin (*J. Pharmacol.*, 33:280, 1928).

In commenting on the development of practical anesthesia in the United States, I recently stated (*Introductory Essay* to T. E. Keys, *The History of Surgical Anesthesia*, Schuman's, New York, 1945):

It is not merely a matter of chance that the problem of surgical anesthesia should have been solved in a practical way by the

eminently hard-headed Americans, as soon as an inkling of available means became known to them. A century ago, this country was still a rapidly expanding pioneer state. People were too busy to be bothered with the finer medical skills. The chief problem in medical practice was surgical. In spite of the rough and ready individualism of the frontier nation, there was an underlying current of rich sympathy and sentiment for suffering humanity. Surgeons were on the watch for something that would relieve the pain that made their operative procedures so difficult.

Both the physician, Crawford W. Long (1815-1878) in Georgia, and the dentist, Horace Wells (1815-1848) in Connecticut, appreciated the practical applications in surgery of casual observations of the effects of ether and nitrous oxide, respectively, Long at a backwoods "ether frolic," and Wells watching the effects of "laughing gas" in an itinerant chemist show. The matter was so pressing that in spite of Wells' tragic failure with nitrous oxide before the surgeons of the Massachusetts General Hospital (in 1844), his former dental partner, W. T. G. Morton (1819-1868), was sufficiently stimulated to start systematic study and experimentation. It was Morton's persistence in working out a practical technic for the administration of ether that made satisfactory anesthesia possible.

Unfortunately Morton made the mistake of trying to exploit his demonstration commercially. The distinguished Boston chemist and geologist, C. T. Jackson (1805-1880), was involved since he seems to have suggested the use of sulphuric ether to Morton. They took out U.S. patent 4,848 on November 12, 1846, but they could not make it stick, and they began bitterly to quarrel among themselves for credit to the discovery. Morton seems at first to have tried to keep the chemical he used secret. He called it *The Letheon*. Morton's legal agent, Edward Warren, wrote *Some Account of the Letheon*, a small rare pamphlet which went through three editions in several issues in Boston in 1847. Our Library has a copy of the third edition, but we want some of the others.

Our Library has much of the original material on the anesthesia discovery of a century ago, but much less than is to be found in the great collections at Yale, the Army Medical Library, the University of Wisconsin, the Crummer Room of the University of California Medical Center, the Clendenning Collections of the University of Kansas Medical School, the Trent Collection at Duke, or the Archer Collection at the University of Pittsburgh School of Dentistry. We have, of course, the original periodical literature. The key item is the account by the great Boston surgeon, H. J. Bigelow (1818-1890), "Insensibility During Surgical Operations Produced by Inhalation" (*Boston Med. Surg. Journ.*, 35:309-317, Nov. 18, 1846). This volume also contains advertising notices issued by Morton regarding etherization.

Morton issued advertising circulars, and published several pamphlets on ether from 1847 to 1850, both in French and English. Unfortunately we have none of these desirable items. Since we have a complete file of *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, we possess most of the important professional pioneer articles on etherization, including Morton's "Comparative Value of Sulphuric Ether and Chloroform" (*Boston Med. Surg. Journ.*, 43:109-119, Sept. 11, 1850). We also have C. W. Long's only publication, unfortunately for him published three years after Morton's demonstration (*Southern Med. Surg. Journ.*, n.s. 5:705-713, 1849). We also have French pamphlets of 1847 on etherization.

In 1847, J. Y. Simpson (1811-1870), a Scottish obstetrician, found ether too slow for relieving pain in child-birth, and after experimentation with animals introduced chloroform. We have the first American edition of his *Remarks on the Superinduction of Anesthesia in Natural and Morbid Parturition* (Boston, 1848). These were presented in Edinburgh on December 1, 1847. We also have W. Channing's rare *Treatise on Etherization in Childbirth* (Boston, 1848), a much more extensive discussion, based on a very rare pamphlet of 1847.

It is my opinion that the success of Morton's demonstration was due more to the prestige and careful scientific publications of the surgeons who first operated with ether, H. J. Bigelow and John C. Warren (1778-1856), than to Morton himself, with his commercialized effort. We have Warren's important *Etherization; with Surgical Remarks* (Boston, 1848). The writings of Bigelow and Warren influenced surgeons all over the world, so that anesthesia was promptly and successfully adopted into standard practice.

We possess most of the Jackson material, including an inscribed copy of J. L. and H. C. Lord's *Defense of Dr. Charles T. Jackson's Claims to the Discovery of Etherization* (Boston, 1848), and copies of *Littell's Living Age* for 1848, in which so much of the Morton-Jackson controversy was aired. We also possess M. Gay's *Statement of the Claims of Charles T. Jackson, M.D.* (Boston, 1847), and a copy of Jackson's remarkable *Manual of Etherization* (Boston, 1861).

Our Library contains the careful historical studies of Senator Truman Smith of Connecticut, *An Examination of the Question of Anesthesia* (New York, 1858, another copy with additions, 1859), and *An Inquiry into the Origin of Modern Anesthesia* (Hartford, 1867). These are related to the several Government Documents on anesthesia dating from 1849 to 1863, most of which we have. The Truman Smith reports favor Wells' priority. Our Library also has the rare *Testimonial of the Medical Profession of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston in Behalf of Wm. T. G. Morton, M.D.* (Phila., 1860), and the *Proceedings in Behalf of the Morton Testimonial* (Boston, 1861). We have a fine copy of N. P. Rice's *Trials of a Public Benefactor as Illustrated in the Discovery of Etherization* (New York, 1859). In addition we possess much Morton material in facsimile, and in more recent appraisal.

There is much interest still in the ether controversy of a hundred years ago, and we are doing what we can to continue to add to our anesthesia collection. We have a fair amount

of manuscript and letter material relating to anesthesia, particularly to matters of current concern, both technical and historical. More importantly, we are using the material. We respectfully solicit interest from our University friends, and ask that the Medical Branch Library be remembered as a worthy depository for historical items relating to health.

It is regrettable but true that there were no Texas contributions to anesthesia until recently. We have not been able to find who made the first report on anesthesia from Texas. Now that we are contributing in the field we should try to make our Library collections worthy of it.

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“With Gestures”: Two Manuals on Gestures and Gesturing

THE ELOCUTIONARY MOVEMENT had its beginning in the last half of the eighteenth century. This movement grew out of, pretty largely, a revolt against both classical rhetoric and the medieval emphasis on style in oral discourse. According to Sandford, the elocutionary movement,

. . . arose out of the criticism of English oratory, the interest in the language, and the development of systems of notation in dictionaries. It enjoyed an enormous popularity from about 1760 on, a popularity which did not diminish, in England or America, during the nineteenth century. It tended to produce highly mechanical systems of vocal culture and gesture practice, and to bring about an artificiality of manner, for which it was early subjected to criticism.¹

The movement laid its stress on two aspects of speaking: vocal culture and gestures. And despite criticism against the teachings of the elocutionists, it remained throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century probably the most significant movement in the field of speech education.²

¹William Phillips Sandford, *English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828* (Columbus, Ohio, 1929), 142-143.

²There are many gaps in the Library's holdings of books and manuals of the elocutionary period. In general, the last part of the movement (from about 1870) is much better represented than the first part. Most of the more important general texts on rhetoric during this period [e.g., George Campbell, *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) and Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783)] are to be found, but many additions could be made to the list of books of the Elocutionary Movement. Some of the more important works not held by the Library are: James

The most important work on vocal culture and voice produced in this period was *The Philosophy of the Human Voice*, by James Rush.⁸ Not only was it widely used as a text in speaking, but it exerted a great influence on nearly all texts published after 1827. There are still traces of its influence to be seen in contemporary texts, especially in the field of oral interpretation.

The second half of the emphasis of the elocutionary movement was that on gesture and physical activity. It is with this phase of the movement that this paper is concerned. It is the purpose of this paper to examine two representative books dealing with the subject of gesture and to attempt to trace their influence on modern theories in teaching public speaking.

The volume on gesture that corresponds best to Rush's *Philosophy of the Human Voice* from the standpoint of significance and influence is a work by The Reverend Gilbert

Burgh, *The Art of Speaking* (1762); Thomas Sheridan, *Lectures on Elocution* (1763); Joseph Priestley, *Course of Lectures on Oratory and Criticism* (1777); John Walker, *Elements of Elocution* (1781); John Wilson, *Principles of Elocution* (1799); John Sabine, *Guide to Elocution* (1807); John Thelwall, *The Vestibule of Eloquence* (1810); John Luxton, *Elements of Rhetoric* (1811); John Dwyer, *An Essay on Elocution* (1829); Henry S. Ellenwood, *A Lecture on Elocution* (1832); Samuel Kirkham, *An Essay on Elocution* (1833); George Vandenhoff, *The Art of Elocution* (1847); David C. Bell, *The Theory of Elocution* (1857); Epes Sargent, *The Intermediate Standard Speaker* (1857); Epes Sargent, *Sargent's Standard Primer* (1866); George Walter Baynham, *Exercises on Elementary Elocution* (1878); David C. Bell, *The Modern Reader and Speaker* (1878); J. M. Clark, *How to Excell in Elocution* (1884); Joe Edgar Foster, *Elocution For Children* (1896); Clifford Harrison, *Reading and Readers* (1898); Mary McHardy, *Elocutionist* (1907); John R. Scott, *The Technic of the Speaking Voice* (1915).

⁸*The Philosophy of the Human Voice: Embracing Physiological History; Together with a System of Principles, by which Criticism in the Art of Elocution May be Rendered Intelligible, and Instruction, Definite and Comprehensive. To Which is Added a Brief Analysis of Song and Recitative.* By James Rush, M.D. The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1900. This is the sixth edition of the work. The first edition was published in January, 1827, and by April, 1867, it had gone through six editions.

Austin, entitled *Chironomia; or a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery*.⁴ About the importance of this work, Sandford says:

It is significant for two reasons: (1) It attempts to justify primary attention to delivery by gathering up an imposing list of testimonies, ancient and modern, as to the fundamental importance of that part of speaking; and (2) It . . . presents an elaborate analysis of gesture, adding a system of symbols by which the proper movements of the body, countenance, and hands might be indicated.⁵

While the book devotes some space to a consideration of matters relating to voice and vocal development, by far the greater part of the book is concerned with gesture and physical activity.⁶ To justify his attention to gestures, Austin quotes from many rhetoricians and orators who have expressed themselves on the value of gesture and activity in speaking. With such authorities supporting him, he then proceeds to a detailed discussion of gestures.

To indicate the thoroughness with which he considers his subject, a glance at the table of contents will be illuminating:

Of the Voice; Of the Voice—General Precepts; Of the Countenance; Of Gesture in General; Of Public Speaking in General—Reading; Of Recitation and Declamation; Of Oratory; Of Acting; Of the Ancient Pantomimes; Of Notation of Gesture; Of the Position of the Feet and Lower Limbs; Of the Positions, Motions and Elevations of the Arms; Of the Positions and Motions of the Hands; Of the Head, the Eyes, the Shoulders, and Body; Application of Symbols and

⁴*Chironomia; or a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery: Comprehending Many Precepts, Both Ancient and Modern, for the Proper Regulation of the Voice, the Countenance, and Gesture. Together with an Investigation of the Elements of Gesture, and a New Method for the Notation Thereof; Illustrated by Many Figures.* By The Reverend Gilbert Austin, A.M. London. Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, 1806. Hereafter, this work will be referred to as *Chironomia*.

⁵Sandford, *op. cit.*, 136.

⁶Of the approximately 600 pages of the book, only 56 pages deal with voice—the rest is devoted exclusively to gestures.

Symbolic Letters; Of the Stroke and Time of Gesture; Of the Classification of Gesture; Of the Preparation, Transition, and Accompaniment of Gesture; Of the Frequency, Moderation, and Intermission of Gesture; Of the Analogy of Gesture and Language; Of the Qualities of Gesture, and of the Gesture suited to the different Modes of Public Speaking; Of the Significancy of Gesture; Of Grace.

The basis of his discussion of gesture is his system of notation. A system of notation is a method by which a critic or teacher is able to record with symbols in the form of letters every position of the hands, arms, head, etc. About this system, Austin says:

The laborious duty of teaching declamation, as I have stated in another place, incited me first to devise some permanent marks, by means of which I might be enabled to record, and to communicate in writing, with brevity and precision, my own ideas as to the manner of delivery to be adopted on certain occasions. Having, as I conceive, fallen upon a fertile principle, as will be found explained in the work, I succeeded by considerable labour in the invention and arrangement of a notation applicable to my purposes; and proved its advantages by the test of my own experience.⁷

To produce a language of symbols so simple and so perfect as to render it possible with facility to represent every action of an orator throughout his speech, or of an actor throughout the whole drama, and to record them for posterity, and for repetition and practice, as well as common language is recorded; if considered merely as an accession to the means of communicating our ideas by writing, may not be deemed unworthy of attention; and, to all concerned in public speaking, that is, to all men of liberal education, may possibly be esteemed useful. An attempt at such a language is here presented to the public.⁸

This system of notation, he feels, will be useful for three types of people: (1) Critics of public speaking, who will be

⁷*Chironomia*, iv.

⁸*Ibid.*, 274-275.

able to record the gestures used by speakers as they are speaking; (2) Artists, who will be able to record the gestures of speakers and thus reproduce them accurately in painting and sculpture; and (3) Teachers, who will be able to annotate passages for practice by their students.

The scheme of notation involves the use of symbols for all possible positions of the hands, arms, feet and head. Some of these symbols are given in the following outline:

GESTURES OF THE HAND:

1. The disposition of the fingers:

a. The natural state (n)	f. The index (i)
b. Extended (x)	g. Holding (h)
c. Clinched (c)	h. Thumb (m)
d. Collected (l)	i. Grapsing (g)
e. Hollow (w)	
2. The manner in which the palm is presented:

a. Supine (s)	
b. Inwards (n)	
c. Outwards (o)	
d. Vertical (v)	
3. The combined disposition of both hands:

a. Applied (ap)	f. Touching (tc)
b. Clasped (cl)	g. Wringing (wr)
c. Crossed (cr)	h. Enumerating (en)
d. Folded (fl)	
e. Inclosed (in)	

The same sort of detailed notation is made for: positions of the hands arising from the part of the body on which they are occasionally placed, motions of the hands and arms together as to direction and as to their manner of moving, the various planes for gestures, etc.⁹ All in all, it is a very detailed and extremely complicated system. *Figure 1* illustrates how the system of notation applies to recitation. It is interesting to

⁹For a pictorial representation of this system of notation, see *Figure 2*, which is substantially the same as that in the *Chironomia*.

note here, not only the system of notation and the positions assumed by the little figures, but also that The Reverend Austin feels that there should be at least one gesture for every line of the poem.

Thus, it is Austin's opinion that the complete, perfect orator can be formed by a close attention to the details of gesture and physical activity in speaking; that these details of gesture can be systematized and symbolically represented; and that the system of notation will simplify the task of learning to speak effectively. Despite the tremendous over-emphasis on purely mechanical matters, this work enjoyed a great popularity throughout the nineteenth century. It actually started a complete school of thought on the value of teaching public speaking through teaching graceful and proper gestures.

As an example of a later work influenced by the *Chironomia*, I have chosen *A Manual of Gesture*, by Albert M. Bacon.¹⁰ This work obviously is a direct descendant of the *Chironomia*. And if there were any doubt, it is soon dispelled in the Preface, where the author tells us that the volume "is based upon the work of Mr. Austin. The system of notation here adopted is substantially the same as that invented by him, and contained in the *Chironomia*."¹¹

Like the earlier work, this book begins with a justification of the teaching of gesture. Bacon, likewise, calls upon ancient and contemporary authorities to prove that gestures are valuable in speech making. Further, he deplores the want of attention that has been given the subject in the past and in the present. The contents of the volume are substantially like the

¹⁰ *A Manual of Gesture; Embracing a Complete System of Notation, Together with the Principles of Interpretation and Selections for Practice*, by Albert M. Bacon, A.M. Boston. Silver, Burdett & Co., 1898. This is the tenth edition of the book. It was originally published in 1872. Its having gone through ten editions in twenty-six years is some indication of its widespread popularity and use. Hereafter, this work will be referred to as *A Manual of Gesture*.

¹¹ *A Manual of Gesture*, iii.



The wind rises high.
a.R.?

the window ^{peg rapidly} shakes;

With sudden ^{reg c-rake} start
R.C.

the Miser wakes:



But now with sudden

Brk' quaking passes,
e.R.?

He wrings his hands,

he beats his breast.

By ^{g br-} assistance stays

he wildly stuns.

FIGURE 1.

GESTURES TO ACCOMPANY GAY'S "THE MISER AND PLUTUS,"
WITH TEXTUAL NOTATIONS.

(Austin's *Chironomia*, 1806.)

contents of Austin's work, except, perhaps, for more detail. Here, for comparison, is the table of contents of *A Manual of Gesture*:

Rhetorical Delivery; Gesture; Notation of Gesture; Right Hand Supine; Both Hands Supine; Right Hand Prone; Both Hands Prone; The Vertical Hand; Special Gestures; Conclusion.

It will be seen from the listing of the contents that more attention is paid to particular gestures in this work than in the *Chironomia*. For example, an entire chapter in *A Manual of Gesture* is devoted to "Right Hand Supine," whereas Austin treats that gesture in a paragraph. It may be fairly inferred, then, that the science of gesture had made great strides by the last half of the century. Even the system of notation has increased in complexity. There are more symbols to be remembered, and, seemingly, more gestures possible.

Like the *Chironomia*, this work is well illustrated with figures showing the position necessary for a particular gesture. Except for a change in attire, the figures might well be from the earlier book.

The last hundred pages of Bacon's work give actual examples of how the system of notation is to be applied to the recitation of prose and verse. Following are some examples of annotated passages:

"What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the *whole world*
b.h.h.o. b.h.h.l.
and lose his *own soul*? Or what shall a man give in *exchange*
b.h.d.l. b.h.d.o.
for his soul?"¹²

"The quality of mercy is not *strain'd*;
h.l.
It droppeth, as the gentle rain from *heaven*,
a.o.

¹²*Ibid.*, 178.

Upon the place beneath: it is twice bless'd;
d.o. d.f.
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes;"¹³
h.o. d.o.

"Thou too sail on, O Ship of State!
h.f.
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
b.h.f. rep.
Humanity, with all its fears,
b.h.o. b.h.d.o.
With all the hopes of future years,
b.h.a.o.
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"¹⁴
b.h.h.f.

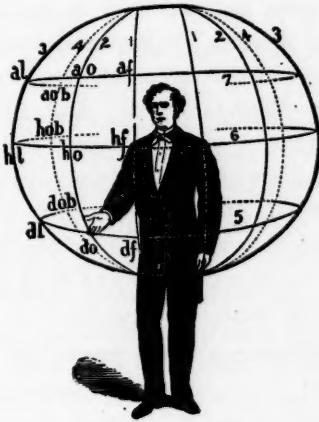


FIGURE 2.

A COMPLETE SYSTEM OF NOTATION FOR GESTURES.
(Bacon's *Manual of Gesture*, 10th edition, 1898.)

Bear in mind that each letter represents some position of the hands or arms. A reference to *Figure 2* will give some idea of the sort of gestures expected in the recitation of these lines.

This work, like Austin's, exerted a tremendous influence on

¹³*Ibid.*, 187.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 196-197.

contemporary speech-making and even on modern-day teaching of public speaking. Some of the influences can be traced rather easily, others can only be inferred.

One of the more obvious influences was in the training of elocutionists for the professional lecture platform. The rise of the Lyceum and Chautauqua, in the last part of the last century, gave a splendid opportunity for professional readers and declaimers to demonstrate their talents. Every well-rounded program on the Lyceum or Chautauqua circuit included at least one, and usually several, of these professional elocutionists. Their readings were accompanied by graceful gestures and pleasing movement of the sort that would have delighted the soul of either The Reverend Austin or Mr. Bacon. Frequently, professional elocutionists were advertised with the phrase, "Reading—With Gestures!" And child readers whose grace and easy gesturing caught the public attention achieved great fame. In addition to these professionals, most of the great actors of the last half of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth were trained by teachers of elocution who followed not only the precepts of Rush on the voice, but also the precepts of Austin on gestures.

Nor has the influence of these works died out yet. Elocution teachers still do a thriving business in teaching the younger generation to recite "pieces." And institutions like the Emerson School of Oratory in Boston are direct outgrowths of the elocutionary movement.

The influence is even seen in college and university courses in speech, though more rarely as time goes on. Textbooks in public speaking still show traces, however, of the teaching of the *Chironomia* school of gestures. An examination of two widely used texts will reveal this. Monroe, in his *Principles and Types of Speech*,¹⁵ classifies gestures as *descriptive* and

¹⁵Alan H. Monroe, *Principles and Types of Speech*, Revised Edition (1939). See Chapter 2, "Physical Behavior on the Platform."

conventional and in his discussion of the *Conventional Gestures of the Hands and Arms*, lists (a) pointing, (b) giving or receiving, (c) rejecting, (d) clenching the fist, (e) cautioning, and (f) dividing. This classification follows the earlier works on gesture in a general sort of way, with a great deal of abridgment, of course. Sarett and Foster, in their *Basic Principles of Speech*,¹⁶ give a little more detail. They discuss the parts of a gesture, the four basic hand gestures (the index-finger gesture, the clenched hand, the palm-up position, and the palm-down position), and the three planes in which gestures move (the lower plane, the middle plane, and the upper plane). The influence of earlier specialized works on gesture can be seen more easily in this book. In general, however, it might be said that the trend in present day speech teaching is away from the artificial methods represented by the *Chironomia* and *A Manual of Gesture*, toward a more flexible and natural way of gesturing.

It cannot be doubted, however, that in the elocutionary movement, these and similar manuals and texts on gestures enjoyed a tremendous following. They are of significance to us today, not only historically in tracing the development of current usage in speech teaching, but also because of a direct influence they still exert to a minor degree in present works on speech making. While they may seem somewhat ludicrous and highly artificial today, it cannot be overlooked that they have made a contribution to the study of effective speech making by making us aware of the importance of the elements of delivery of a speech as well as the elements of style.

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¹⁶Lew Sarett and William Trufant Foster, *Basic Principles of Speech* (1936). See Chapter VII: "Principles of Bodily Action."

The Proof That Forman Knew

IN 1934 TWO ENGLISHMEN, John Carter and Graham Pollard, "members of the London rare-book trade," published a volume entitled *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets*. They clearly demonstrated in it by proof partly derived from an expert knowledge of paper and type that the tremendously respected, honored, and famous book collector and bibliographer, Thomas J. Wise, who was then still alive, had forged, had provided provenances for and surreptitiously attempted to authenticate, and had distributed and sold some fifty or more pamphlets containing printings of various pieces of late nineteenth century literature. The most famous of these forgeries was the reputed first edition of Mrs. Browning's *Sonnets*, Reading, 1847. Without specifically naming him the forger, the case they made against Wise was an absolutely tight one. They implicated no one else. "It seems to us clear that the . . . forgeries . . . must almost certainly be the work of one man." This brilliant piece of bibliographical investigation, as fascinating as a detective story, created, naturally, a considerable stir in the American and English book world, a commotion which has by no means subsided.

For many years Wise had acted as friend, adviser, and agent (in his book buying activities) to John Henry Wrenn, a wealthy banker and broker of Chicago, and Wise's best book customer. Wrenn's library, after his death, came eventually to The University of Texas, and along with it came most of the correspondence between the two men, a correspondence running from 1894 to Wrenn's death in 1911.

In 1944 Miss Fannie E. Ratchford, the curator of the Rare Book Collections at The University of Texas, published a generous selection from these letters. Miss Ratchford had come to believe that Wise was not alone in his activities as a forger. She thought herself able, by the evidence of the letters and of her own investigations, to demonstrate that at least two more men were involved with Wise in his peculiar activities—Edmund Gosse and Harry Buxton Forman. Part of her proof consisted of her identification as Gosse's, by comparison with other specimens of his writing, of a single word written by the forger or one of his accomplices on a proof sheet of "The Runaway Slave." She apparently persuaded few of her readers of the certainty of this identification (an identification rejected by Raymond, Randall, Carter, and Pollard), and many will perhaps be willing to take Edmund Blunden's word on this as final: "I knew his handwriting well. That word is not in his hand." What seems to have escaped most of her readers, however, is the highly important point that much more is involved here than the mere identification as Gosse's of a single word, in which, indeed, a single letter is of particular importance; obviously, as Miss Ratchford was well aware, a single word was not enough writing to work with. However, this word, "mangoes," was written on the proof as a correction of the misspelling "mangos." On the proof the *e* is underlined. Now this is certainly evidence that this particular proof was not proof to go to the printer, for if any printer had followed the directions of the corrected spelling, he would have italicized the *e* and set the rest of the word in roman, thus, mangoes. Why, then, was the *e* underlined? Perhaps simply to call attention to its omission; perhaps to ridicule the misspelling which Wise was responsible for in the text of the proof. This proof, that is, was going to someone who had a master proof, on which its corrections would be entered. Who might have had a master proof, or who might have been given proofs on which to make corrections or sug-

gestions to be copied off onto the master proof? Wise, obviously, yet *mangoes* is not in Wise's hand. Forman, but *mangoes* is not in Forman's hand. Gosse, perhaps, and if *mangoes* is not in his hand (Miss Ratchford firmly believes that Gosse wrote the word), it is certainly in a hand extraordinarily similar to his. Miss Ratchford, at any rate, built up a good circumstantial case against Gosse,¹ and a very strong

¹Professor Raymond simply begs the question in his *Times Literary Supplement* communication of December 14, 1946 (the italics are mine): "The only circumstance, *deserving of any consideration*, which could cast suspicion upon Gosse, is his story . . . of the way in which Mrs. Browning first showed her husband the manuscript of her sonnets," and Blunden is surely going a little too far when he writes of Miss Ratchford's "wild," "punitive" pursuit of Gosse.

There is an obvious difficulty with the at first thought apparently convincing suggestion of Carter in *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1945, that Gosse would not have written and received such letters (dated 1896 and 1909) as Carter prints if he were not innocent. For who is prepared to believe, knowing something about how Gosse achieved his distinguished position in the English late nineteenth century literary world (one needs only to know, in fact, what is to be found in Charteris' admirable biography), about his publications, and his personality, that if he was implicated, he was not fully capable of playing his part in the comedy to the very fall of the final curtain? What if Wise did discontinue production about the end of the century, and go out of wholesaling between 1909 and 1912? Such letters, from Gosse's point of view, could still be part of the comedy of the venture, and, to the extent that the forgeries were intended as a hoax and a fraud on American collectors, such letters might still somehow serve even a practical purpose; for the withdrawal of Wise to a more passive role did not, of course, mean an end to sales of the forgeries or to their apparent desirability.

Carter's theory that these letters testify to Gosse's innocence is, moreover, supported by Richard Curle's theory in *The Times Literary Supplement*, November 2, 1946, p. 535 (Curle, apparently, had previously made the suggestion elsewhere, but I have not yet discovered where or when), that since Browning was accustomed to speak of some manuscript of the *Sonnets* as a book, Gosse's recollection of some such use by Browning in his hearing was what eventually led Gosse into telling his suspicious story.

Furthermore, no one seems to have pointed out that it is somewhat curious that in neither Lister's nor Cox's catalogue of Gosse's library did Gosse make use of the opportunity that he presumably had to have a

circumstantial case against Forman. These still remained, nevertheless, pretty convincing circumstantial cases rather than positively proved ones, although she threw out the hint in her tantalizing eighty-ninth footnote that there was a "written document," somewhere, which supported her conclusions.

Miss Ratchford has now, in a xii plus 40-page book, beautifully designed by Bruce Rogers and printed for The University of Texas by A. Colish on Italian rag paper (there are twenty-five excellently reproduced plates), played the ace and printed this important Pforzheimer document. The exciting little book is called *Between the Lines—Letters and Memoranda Interchanged by H. Buxton Forman and Thomas J. Wise*. It has a foreword by Mr. Pforzheimer and an introductory essay and notes by Miss Ratchford. 525 copies have been printed, of which 400 are for sale at \$8.00 a copy.

Here is the absolute proof that Forman knew. And this proof, as it emerges, takes the form of a sort of debased, Meredithian comedy, a comedy Miss Ratchford understands and relishes.

She had already pointed out in her "Further Inquiry," the long preface to the *Letters*, that in one of his essays in the second volume of Nicoll and Wise's *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century* Forman seems to be writing with deliberate, and perhaps maliciously comic, ambiguity, aware of the forger's activities. Now, in *Between the Lines*, she elaborates the humor of this situation, and shows us Forman playing with Wise like a cat with a mouse. Indeed she hardly goes

copy of the Reading Sonnets listed, and so to help provide authentication for it.

Taken together, these circumstantial defenses, and other similar ones which will probably come to light (but not Raymond's untenable theory about the detail of the window, for which, see below), which some will be willing to regard as clearing Gosse, may, in fact, constitute the best exoneration of Gosse that we are likely to get.

Because of its length the rest of this footnote is printed as an addendum at the end of the article.

too far in speaking of Forman's discussion of "The Last Tournament" as "a masterpiece of equivocation. . . Hardly a sentence from first to last but holds one meaning for the unsuspecting reader and another for the initiated."

The atomic passage in *Between the Lines* is an interlining of Wise on one of Forman's notes. Forman had written Wise that there was an appearance of dishonesty about the certificate in Wise's edition of *Letters from . . . Ruskin to . . . Malleson*, 1896, which read: "The impression of this book is limited to a few copies for private circulation only."

"The appearance is this—", Forman expostulated, "that you are reluctant to say how many are printed; & say 'a few' because some will understand that to mean 3 or 4, some 10 or 12, some 20 or 30, & so on. There cannot on the face of it be an honest reason for wanting the number printed to be differently conjectured by different people; and it turns out that the appearance is borne out by the fact that, printing 30 (more or less), you want some one to think you only print 10 or 12. However, that is all your affair; and I have done on it. . ."

There had obviously been other correspondence, involving a Mrs. Severn, probably the literary executrix of Ruskin, and about the wording of the certificates to accompany *Letters from Robert Browning to Various Correspondents* and *The Ashley Library, A List of Books*. . .

". . . I cared so little about the matter", Wise writes about the certificate for the *List*, "that I never gave it a thought. . . I am so indifferent about it that in future all Vols, save J.R., shall have number stated." As for Mrs. Severn, "How can there be 'dishonesty' when she is not *deprived* of anything? . . . there is no 'dishonesty.' Mrs. Severn does not *buy* her copy under the impression that only 10 or 12 are printed: I *give* it to her *gratis!*"¹²

²"There is no 'dishonesty'" is not a comment on Wise's observation, "The moral position is exactly the same," but a reiteration, as is indicated above. Blunden recognizes this in his *Times Literary Supplement* article, September 28, 1946, p. 472.

The crucial comment, however, is this. It is written by Wise between the lines of what comes after the semicolon in the next to the last sentence by Forman above: "Quite so. And we print 'Last Tournament' in 1896, & want 'someone to think' it was printed in 1871! *The moral position is exactly the same!*" That, of course, is completely certain proof of the implication of Forman in what Wise was doing.

After such evidence, it is little wonder that Miss Ratchford hardly bothers to stress the possible implications of some of the other comments. Wise, for example, amused by parodies of Tennyson, comments: "By Gad I've a good mind to (*cheaply*) reprint this too!", and again, "How many lines are there in this? I'm very much inclined to print 12 (say) copies. What would it cost us?"

Against a somewhat irrelevant footnote by Forman to "The Building of the Idylls," apparently inserted chiefly to provide a bogus authentication for *Lucretius*, 1868, one of the forgeries, a footnote in which Forman remarks that "some one appears to have paid the sum of £12 for it," Wise wrote: "Ah, Ah, Sir Buxton! Is it not here that I spot one of the three prices that so horribly raise your gorge, & eke your ire?" It is easy to imagine the kind of conversation between the two men that this must refer to.

These last three comments, however, are no more significant than one "in the writing of Forman's late years" which Miss Ratchford had already printed in "A Further Inquiry": "The device of dignifying the list of subscribers by the title of the Villon Society was confided by the Devil to me, and was destined to have wide issues for some of which I hope I have no responsibility."³

³Miss Ratchford printed this from a statement by Forman bound into one of his copies, now in the Stark Collection at The University of Texas, of *The Poems of Master Francis Villon of Paris, Now First Done into English Verse, in the Original Forms, by John Payne . . . London, J. C. Wilkins, Printed for the Villon Society, for Private Distribution, 1878.*

Not only do the odds and ends in Mr. Pforzheimer's packet irrevocably implicate Forman, although at the same time they probably enhance our opinion of his intelligence; they also serve to add a few sharp strokes of characterization to the picture of Wise that emerges from the *Letters*—a very middle-class, imperfectly educated, imperceptive, smug, opportunist *faux bonhomme*, a well-to-do business man with a flair for mysterious carryings-on and for both bibliographical detail and bibliographical hocus-pocus, yet at the same time with enough shrewdness, determination, and money to build for himself a very fine library of rare books.

"'Write me down a HASS'! ! ! " he pencils beside a reply by Forman about a grammatical construction. "Now don't ever write me any more testy letters, or think that I *wilfully* displease you—because you know that I don't—and I'm sure I don't deserve it. I've been quite miserable the last day or two. So now shake hands & be good Aly yours Tom Wise"

Almost everyone interested in bibliography will want a copy of this book. It is a book which does more, however, than merely prove that Forman knew what was going on. It has wider human implications which I have already suggested. Carter and Pollard's original *Enquiry* was a magnificent first act. Miss Ratchford's "Further Inquiry" developed themes already established and introduced highly interesting, if still somewhat inconclusive, new material. Now Mr. Pforzheimer, by releasing his significant material, has enabled Miss Ratchford to show us glimpses of several sparklingly comic scenes somewhere in the third act. How sensible it now seems of him not to have precipitously rushed Wise's most give-away comment into print before, but to have waited until a good body of circumstantial material was already in print, and then to have provided a facsimile reproduction by plates of his packet. The play, however, is not yet over; the story is still not anything like completely enough told.

We still have a great deal to learn about just how much Forman knew.⁴ Was he an original partner, or did he somehow discover the forger's activities? To what extent did Forman (or Gosse, if Gosse was involved) profit financially from his knowledge? Why did Forman lend himself to Wise's purposes in those essays? How much, or how little, did the younger Forman (or, for that matter, Gorfin—"my clerk, Herbert") really know? Why did Forman play along with Wise at all? Was Wise or was Forman (as Miss Ratchford has believed for six years) in fact the master mind?

Were English booksellers and auction houses as free of blame in the whole business as, with the exception of E. E. Fisk's suspicions, they have been assumed to be so far? Why has there been an apparently persistent, deliberate effort, first of all to shield Forman from the suspicion of implication in Wise's guilt, and then, later, to shield Gosse?

To what extent was the forger (or the forger's group) motivated by a desire to make money by his undertakings, by a hope to increase his reputation by the bibliographical work the production of the forgeries made possible, by his pleasure in successfully perpetuating a gigantic bibliographical hoax,⁵ and by his wish to make fools of his intellectual and social betters, and especially of American collectors, to get revenge for the way Americans had begun to push up prices and make books unavailable by their growing habit of buying desirable items in England?

Edmund Blunden has recently⁶ made the intriguing suggestion that "the immense range of manuscript 'materials,' holographs, inscriptions, marginalia (and in that matter I perceive that T. J. Wise and his friends were of full age) has

⁴Carter and Pollard write very well on this point in their *Times Literary Supplement* review of June 1, 1946.

⁵This is the elaborate joke theory. It is possible, of course, as Professor Newman White has suggested, that the forgeries may have begun as a hoax, only for some reason to have become something more.

⁶*The Times Literary Supplement*, September 28, 1946, p. 472.

yet to be examined with similar technique and judgment [to that of Carter and Pollard's *Enquiry*]. It may conceivably be found one day that the printed part of certain nineteenth-century forgeries was not by a great deal the most successful in gaining the material rewards and the shimmering reputations which were sought by the vendors."

This particular modern bibliographical fraud abounds in its teasing questions, but unlike those about the fabled sirens' songs, the answers are not beyond conjecture, and for some of the questions, at least, provable answers may be forthcoming. Perhaps evidence will still, or even shortly, be found positively to implicate some of the others that Miss Ratchford suspects were part of the forger's group, especially, Gosse.

At any rate, as Mr. Wise himself almost wrote (and, indeed, I have only substituted a synonym for one word): "The whole thing proves once more that, easy as it appears to be to fabricate printings of rare books, it is in actual practice absolutely impossible to do so in such a manner that detection cannot follow the result."

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ADDENDUM

The mere chronology of Gosse's connection with his suspicious story, however (I may explore some of the implications of this chronology elsewhere; restrictions of space prevent me from elaborating this material here and from providing the full documentation, listing of references, etc., of my notes), is itself a very serious circumstantial case against him.

1846, September 10. Elizabeth Barrett writes the last of her love sonnets to the man she was on the point of marrying.

1847. The year that according to Gosse's questionable story Mrs. Browning, in Pisa, "early in 1847," "pushed a packet of papers into the pocket" of her paragon's coat (Wise, in 1918, turned this pocket into Browning's hand). According to this story Browning wished her to publish the *Sonnets*, and

Mrs. Browning, although at first very loath to consent, and firmly rejecting publication in some fashionable annual, was persuaded to allow her intimate friend Miss Mitford, to whom the *Sonnets* had been sent in manuscript, "to pass them through the press" at Reading later that same year in a very limited edition "Not for Publication."

1847. The date on the title page of Wise's forgery of the *Sonnets*.

1850. Mrs. Browning's *Poems*, the first appearance in print of the *Sonnets*.

1851, January 12. A letter from Mrs. Browning to her sister Arabel: ". . . they were written several years ago. I never showed them to Robert till last Spring. . . . As to publishing them, it did not enter my head. . . . Robert . . . could not consent . . . that they should be lost to my volume [*Poems, 1850*] . . ."

1857, October 6. A joint letter from the Brownings to Leigh Hunt definitely fixes the place Browning first saw the manuscript of the *Sonnets* as Bagni di Lucca and the date as 1849.

1864, November. A letter from Browning to Miss Julia Wedgwood refers to "the little Book," actually, Miss Ratchford informs me, a manuscript written in a notebook (not, as Curle assumes in the *T. L. S.*, November 2, 1946, a bound manuscript), which he had first seen "at Lucca" in 1849; ". . . next morning . . . 'There they are, if you care to see them,'—and there was the little Book I have here . . . How I see the gesture . . . hear the tones . . . see the window at which I was standing . . . Afterward the publishing them was through me . . ." Curle's "Introduction" to the Browning-Wedgwood letters, which were published in 1937, thanks Maurice Buxton Forman, H. B. Forman's son, for "making the great majority of the Notes." One of the notes to this letter states: "'Sonnets from the Portuguese' was published in Mr. [sic] Browning's works in 1850 . . ."

1881, March 10. A letter from Browning to Dr. Peter Bayne states that he first saw the *Sonnets* at Bagni di Lucca in 1849.

1881. Gosse wrote in 1894: "Mr. Browning . . . eight years before his death, made a statement to a friend, with

the understanding that at some future date, after his own decease, the story [a very pretty episode of literary history] might be more widely told."

1881. Wise wrote in 1918: "Mr. Gosse has recorded, upon information imparted to him by Browning eight years before his death . . ." Carter and Pollard have called this a mere slip of Wise's pen; Wise repeated the statement in his *T.L.S.* letter of May 24, 1934.

1882-1889. Gosse wrote to J. R. Burton, April 12, 1927, that the only correction of his story "I can make" was that perhaps he had got it from Browning sometime after 1881, "because I was in close relation with him from 1876 until 1889, and I cannot fix the date of those particular statements."

1885. "Somewhere about 1885—the exact date escapes me . . ." Wise's date for his purchase of two copies of the forgery from Dr. W. C. Bennett, who Wise says then had in his possession ten or twelve other copies, which he had received "from her [Miss Mitford's] hands" or, as Wise puts it further on in the paragraph, "from Miss Mitford's home . . ."; "shortly afterwards," according to Wise, Bennett sold "the remaining copies."

1886. This date, or hereabouts, may be assumed to have been the date of the printing of the forgery; see the *Enquiry*, pp. 37, 55, 64, 127, 143, 167, 168.

1886. Wise, according to his own statement, never met Browning until the spring of this year, when he was 27 and Browning 74. Muir in 1929 in a passage which simply paraphrases material in *A Browning Library* dates this meeting 1884. As the whole paraphrase is journalistic, 1884 is undoubtedly a journalistic slip.

1887. Gosse wrote to Burton, April 12, 1927, that Browning had told him the story "I think in the year 1887."

1890 or later (I have been unable to ascertain the exact date of this). Furnivall, in his "Corrections for Sharp's *Life of Browning*, 1890," apropos of Sharp's statement, "It was here, in Pisa, I have been told on indubitable authority, that Browning first saw in manuscript those Sonnets . . .," writes, "When abroad she was one day late in putting on her bonnet to walk with him. He called to her. Spying about, he saw a tiny roll of paper on her looking-glass or table, pounst on it, and said, 'What's this?' unrolling it the while. 'Only something I wrote

about you, and you frightened me from showing it to you,' said she.* And in her next edition the *Sonnets from the Portuguese* were printed." To the end of the next to the last sentence, and the statement may be intended to apply only to that sentence, Furnivall attached the footnote: "He told me this himself."

Was Sharp's authority for his statement Gosse, as Raymond has suggested, or does the Pisa mistake in both Sharp and Gosse's account go back to some common source? Was this source Wise, and Pisa Wise's invented detail, because of the passage in the Barrett-Browning letter of July 22, 1846, "You shall see some day at Pisa what I will not show you now"? Paragraphs in Wise's May 24, 1934, letter to the *T.L.S.* seem to support this view, as well as to reveal the original conception of the forgery: because of this hardly enigmatic Pisa reference in the 1846 letter, one can imagine Wise inventing the story that sometime in 1846 or 1847 Mrs. Browning, to preserve them in print, sent a manuscript of the *Sonnets* to her "nearest" friend, Miss Mitford, with instructions to have them privately printed, so that she could surprise her new husband with them, one day shortly after their marriage, by handing him a printed copy of the "very notes and chronicle of her betrothal."

Raymond's remarks about the Pisa mistake are unnecessarily complicated by his insistence that the Reading forgery was printed "around 1893-4." The date I have suggested above as the date of the printing may be too early, but Raymond's date is surely too late. The Reading *Sonnets* were printed in a type certain letters of which were "not cut for Clay until after 1880," and a type used by Clay "from 1876 to 1893," when it was replaced by another.

Neither Raymond nor anyone else, presumably, can prove or disprove his statement, "Now in 1890, Gosse was entirely ignorant of the Reading sonnets," but there is no need to assume its truth, as Raymond does. Sharp did not have to get his story from Gosse; he may well have got it from someone else, Wise for example. The 1893 *Catalogue* was not a catalogue by Gosse himself of his own books; it was a catalogue of some of his books made by another. Gosse may have heard the Reading story before 1890, or before 1893, and have been waiting for a suitable occasion to print it over his own name,

and where it would get a wider circulation than the *Catalogue* afforded.

Furthermore, Raymond is not justified in calling the Wedgwood letter "irrefutable evidence" that Gosse's account of Mrs. Browning's putting the *Sonnets* into her husband's pocket is right, while Furnivall's account of Browning's finding them "on her looking-glass or table" is "in error." In the Wedgwood letter Browning says only that he remembers the window at which he was standing (Gosse's account also includes a window; Furnivall's does not). Browning might have been standing there when she gave him the *Sonnets* (Gosse's account), or before he noticed them on her table (Furnivall's account), or after he had taken them from the table to read (Furnivall's account). There is no reason to label what Furnivall did not happen to record as untrue. A more serious, possible flaw in Furnivall's account is his statement that the *Sonnets* were "a tiny roll of paper." In the Wedgwood letter the manuscript that Browning apparently first saw is "the little Book." There were, at one time or another, several different manuscripts of the *Sonnets*.

1893. R. J. Lister's *A Catalogue of a Portion of the Library of Edmund Gosse* appears at the end of the year in an impression of sixty-five copies. The subscribers, for whom the *Catalogue* was privately printed, included some of the most important people in the English book world. Mrs. Browning's *Poems*, 1850, the only book of hers listed, is specifically described as "the first [edition] in which the 'Sonnets from the Portuguese' appeared," and there is not even a hint of the story Gosse was to tell in print towards the end of the same year.

Why was no copy of the Reading forgery listed? Perhaps because the *Catalogue* was by another, and was to have a limited circulation. Perhaps because Gosse had not yet heard about the Reading book. Perhaps because, according to Wise's story, Gosse bought his copy from Bennett "somewhere about 1885" for £10 and sold it "some years afterwards" for £50 to "I believe" Charles B. Foote of New York. Perhaps because Gosse was deliberately holding the story.

1894. The Reading forgery of the *Sonnets* is first mentioned in print in a note in J. H. Slater's *Early Editions*.

1894, November. In an edition of the *Sonnets* published by Dent, Gosse first prints, as a statement made by Browning "eight years before his death" "to a friend" (the reader is apparently intended to realize that the friend was Gosse himself), his story of how the manuscript of the *Sonnets* had been sent to Miss Mitford, who had had them printed in an edition of just a few copies at Reading.

Here was a story varying significantly from the other one (Lucca, 1849, etc.). Yet Gosse presents it with no explanations of its differences from what we now know was the truth beyond his stated but unemphasized distinction that the Reading volume was "Not for Publication," and that consequently the *Sonnets* really were first given to the public in the 1850 *Poems*.

If the reader was supposed to assume the "friend" to be Gosse himself, the reader would naturally trust Gosse as a source, for it was well known that he had been intimately associated with Browning for years, and that at one time he had taken notes from Browning for a biographical article which was printed in 1881. Gosse must have heard from Browning at some time the 1849-Lucca story, and as the "friend" now printing a variant of this story (by the assumption of this paragraph), he certainly owed it to his readers to offer some conjectures, at least, about the discrepancies in the two accounts. In 1927 Gosse in his letter to Burton admitted (or by another theory tried at that time to claim) that he was the "friend" to whom Browning had told the story: ". . . his statement . . . seriously and explicitly made to me by Mr. Browning himself, when he was saying when he knew [sic] I was taking notes of his speech." Both Carter and Raymond have maintained that Gosse in this letter was referring to the "authentic" details of his story, not to the Pisa-1847, Reading-Miss Mitford-1847 details.

On the other hand, if Gosse was genuinely intending to say that he had got this new story, not himself from Browning, but from some other "friend" of Browning (this is the position taken by Carter and Pollard in the *Enquiry*), whether or not he knew who the friend was, he was certainly under the obligation to check the truth of the story. On this assumption the new story, which he had heard at second hand, and possibly, but not necessarily, sometime since November 1893,

would, pretty certainly, be a contradiction of the story he must have heard from Browning himself. Would he not naturally wonder about these differences? Would he not trust what Browning had told him rather than a variant story he was now hearing after Browning's death. If he trusted this story from the mysterious "friend" so much that he began to doubt his own recollections, why did he not turn for information about, confirmation of, the new story to other members of the Browning circle, for example, to Browning's own son, or to Furnivall, or to Kenyon? Why should Gosse print, and so give his authority to, this new story, which, by the assumption of this paragraph, he was now first hearing from another, and which must have been a contradiction of his own recollections, and which would have been denied by a number of Browning's other friends if Gosse had bothered to ask them their opinion of its trustworthiness? If he was going to print it on the authority of another whose identity he was unwilling to disclose, might we not expect him to have protected himself by some remarks about this being an interesting and possibly true story that had come his way, and that he was printing for whatever it was worth, but which he was accepting himself only to the extent that it seemed to explain the Reading book, although he was well aware that there were conflicting details in the two stories that still needed to be explained and reconciled? (Carter is of the opinion that he did reach something like this position toward the end of his life.)

Supposing that the "friend" was Wise (the assumption of the *Enquiry*), why, unless Wise had some powerful hold over Gosse, or unless Wise had somehow persuaded Gosse to participate in a little scheme of his, or unless Wise somehow tricked Gosse into an ignorant participation, would Gosse, at this time a well-known, established literary critic, have paid any serious attention to a story which Wise, then 35, purported to have got from Browning when Browning was 69 and Wise 22? According to Wise's own statement, moreover, he did not meet Browning until 1886 (and the "friend" was supposed to have got the story in 1881) when Browning was 72 and he was 27, and at that time Wise was on no better standing than that of the slightest personal acquaintance with Browning.

1896. Gosse, in a book of literary essays entitled *Critical Kit-Kats*, reprints the material in the Dent introduction. The "Preface" to *Critical Kit-Kats*, dated February, 1896, was (like the *Enquiry about Wise*) implicitly although not explicitly so worded as to definitely suggest that Gosse wanted the assumption made that he was the "friend" to whom Browning had told the story Gosse was now at last making public: ". . . that eminent poet who for many years honored me with his friendship . . . laid upon me as a duty the publication of what I have written. What is here found, in matters of fact, regarding the Sonnets of his Wife . . . comes with the authority and is presented at the desire of Browning," and, in spite of Carter and Pollard's refusal to do so, this assumption was in fact made by most readers. For example, the Houghton Mifflin, Cambridge Edition of *The Complete Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, 1900, has the editorial headnote to the *Sonnets*: "Long after his wife's death Robert Browning described the scene to Mr. Edmund Gosse, who relates the tale in his *Critical Kit-Kats*, page 2"; Edward Dowden in *The Life of Robert Browning*, 1904, says, "'One day, early in 1847,' as Mr. Gosse records what was told to him by Mr. Browning . . ."; and Germaine-Marie Merlette in *La Vie et l'Oeuvre d'Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, 1905, writes, "L'histoire des *Sonnets portugais* communiqué par Elizabeth à son mari a été dite par E. Gosse, à qui Browning l'a contée lui-même."

1896. Forman retells Gosse's story with what are plainly satirical and ambiguous jibes in his article, "Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Her Scarcer Books," in volume II of Nicoll and Wise's *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*. Forman like Gosse distinguished between "the first public issue of the *Sonnets*" and "the separate private print of 1847."

"Tradition says that . . . Browning found his wife's sonnets on the domestic table, and then read them for the first time . . . a sheaf of manuscript . . . it seems likelier on the whole that, when she had overcome her timorous delicacy and made up her mind that he should read the sonnets, she would wish him to take a readier impression of their entirety than could be gathered from what has been called her 'fairy' [faintly-written letters,—tiny letters in a tiny hand] manuscript . . . The history of these . . . sonnets . . . raises a curious speculation in the morals of editorship. But for some

unknown circumstances leading to the production of a few copies printed under initials, the sonnets might have remained in manuscript . . . we have no right derived from her own public act or utterance to say . . . And yet it is constantly said; and no one finds fault."

" . . . Gosse has given a circumstantial account of the whole transaction . . . an account as of a solemn secret entrusted to that friend . . . It is not expressly stated that Browning told the mysterious friend of Miss Mitford's part . . . there are other friends of the poet to whom that part of the story is new . . . in three charming pages of picturesque writing we get brought together the floating traditions of the episode, and over them is thrown the glamour of the personal acquaintance between Browning and his bright chronicler. Of course Mr. Gosse does not expect all this to be taken too seriously or literally, and it is lawful, seeing that *Critical Kit-Kats* are not history, to lean to the view that Browning first saw the sonnets in print." Surely this last sentence amounts to Forman's saying: Gosse's story is, of course, a lie, a myth, but it is a pleasant myth which it will hurt none of you to believe.

1902. The second printing of *Critical Kit-Kats*.

1910, spring. Miss Lilian Whiting, at work on her book, *The Brownings: Their Life and Art*, which was published in 1911, writes to Browning's son in Florence to ask which of the stories about the *Sonnets* is correct. Browning replied by quoting his father's letter of March 10, 1881, to Bayne. Gosse must have seen Miss Whiting's book.

1912. Mr. Geoffrey D. Hobson fetches the Browning books from Italy ". . . and I well remember my disappointment at not finding a copy of the Reading *Sonnets* in the tin box which contained all the most precious Browning books and MSS. It is quite inconceivable that, if the book were genuine, Browning should not have had a copy from his wife, as he kept everything connected with her, including every tiny scrap of paper, however insignificant." If Gosse did not attend the Browning sale in 1913, he must have been familiar with the sale catalogue. It is hardly conceivable that he would not have wondered at the absence of any copy of the Reading *Sonnets*.

1914. The third edition of *Critical Kit-Kats*. The essay on the *Sonnets* was considerably enlarged, but Gosse did not change or further explain his peculiar story.

1917. A second printing of Miss Whiting's *The Brownings*.

1918. Wise in *A Bibliography of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* specifically fathers the story on Gosse, as something told Gosse by Browning in 1881; Gosse made no protest or correction. Wise also, in this *Bibliography*, mentions for the first time the fictitious Bennett cache of the Reading *Sonnets*.

1921. Gosse, in "Miss Mitford," printed in *Books on the Table*, repeats his story that Miss Mitford "preserved and privately printed" the *Sonnets* at Reading in 1847. I understand this to mean preserved by having printed, a reading supported by Wise's reference in 1918 to Elizabeth's consenting "to their preservation in print." Perhaps the phrase, however, was intended to add another detail to (or at least to underline a detail in) Gosse's original story, intended to mean, as Miss Ratchford thinks, preserved (that is, saved, to print later) after receiving them as they were written, or sometime during the courtship, or after Browning's discouraging expression to his wife of his dissatisfaction with personal love poetry; this reading is supported by a phrase in Gosse's 1894 account, ". . . Miss . . . Mitford, to whom they had originally been sent in manuscript . . ."

1922. Wise, in volume I of *The Ashley Library*, describing his hairless copy of the forgery, writes: "This copy . . . was formerly in the possession of Dr. W. C. Bennett. It was given to him by Mary Russell Mitford, to whom had been entrusted by the authoress the task of seeing the book through the press. . . . I purchased the volume from Dr. Bennett in 1886."

1924. E. H. M. Cox's *The Library of Edmund Gosse*, dedicated to Wise, is published. This listed a copy of Mrs. Browning's *Poems*, 1850, with exactly the same comment that had appeared in the earlier catalogue: "This, the second edition of the *Poems* of 1844, was the first in which the 'Sonnets from the Portuguese' appeared." No copy of the Reading forgery is listed.

1927, April 12. Gosse writes J. R. Burton that he had had the story "I think in the year 1887," or possibly at some indefinite date between 1882 and 1889, "seriously and explicitly made to me by Mr. Browning himself, when . . . he knew

I was taking notes of his speech." This ought to refer to the period during 1881 when he was getting material from Browning in preparation for his *Century Magazine* biographical article, which appeared in the December, 1881, number.

1928. Gosse dies.

1929. Wise in *A Browning Library* tells more fully the story of how he bought two copies of the forgery from Dr. W. C. Bennett, who, Wise says, "shortly afterwards" sold his remaining copies, apparently at least eight, to, among others, Gosse and Forman.

1933, September 28. The *T.L.S.* reviewer of Hood's *Letters of Browning* raises the question, "What becomes . . . of the . . . story, reported by Edmund Gosse . . .?"

1934, May 24. A long letter "drafted" by Frederick Page and signed by Wise appears in *The Times Literary Supplement*; this is before the publication of the *Enquiry*. Wise declared that the "friend" of Gosse's story "was almost certainly Gosse himself," that the story came from Browning in 1881, that difficulties and discrepancies in the story are due to confusion and lapse of memory on Gosse's part, and that his own two copies of the *Reading Sonnets* had come to him from Harry Buxton Forman, not as he had previously said (because of his own confusions and lapses of memory) from Bennett!

The following week Forman's son states that, he believes, Gosse bought his copy of the *Sonnets* from Bennett, that his own father (who was supposed, according to Wise's earlier story, to have bought one copy from Bennett about 1885) bought "the bulk of the remainder" of Bennett's supply, that Wise got his two copies from Forman "in the course of one of their many exchanges," that in 1919 there were three copies of the forgery in the Forman home.

1934. Carter and Pollard's *Enquiry* examines Gosse's story at some length. They hold to the position that the statement about the "friend" is to be taken at face value, that the friend is not Gosse himself, but someone else, probably Wise. "It seems to us clear that the . . . forgeries . . . must almost certainly be the work of one man."

1934. Sometime after the appearance of the *Enquiry* someone (according to Partington undoubtedly Wise himself) makes three corrections (strictly against the rules) with a pen in the British Museum copy of *A Browning Library*. One

of these indicates that Wise [I] not Miss Mitford inserted the manuscript of "Future and Past" in one copy of the forgery. Another correction inserts *not* in the sentence: "By Dr. Bennett it was sold to me." The other, and the important one for the Gosse story, is the crossing out of the *in* in the last word of the following: "When making this gift [a manuscript of the *Sonnets*] Pen Browning stated that the MSS had been handed by his mother to her husband in 1849. But the statement was inaccurate."

1937. Wise dies.

1944. Evidence against Gosse as a possible accomplice of the forger is first brought into the picture in Miss Ratchford's "A Further Inquiry."

1945, March. George Goodspeed expresses the opinion in *The Atlantic Monthly* (a reference to p. 99 of the February *Atlantic*) that Carter now condemns Gosse "as an accessory after the fact."

Centennial of Statehood Documents

ITEMS FROM THE ARCHIVES COLLECTION, ILLUSTRATING LIFE IN TEXAS A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

VII. A LETTER FROM JAMES PINCKNEY HENDERSON,
GOVERNOR OF TEXAS, TO GENERAL THOMAS
J. RUSK, MARCH 9, 1846.¹

Austin Texas
March 9th 1846

To Genl Thos J Rusk

My Dear Sir

I have this day caused to be enclosed to Genl Houston (supposing from what I learn of his movements that he will reach Washington City before you), in pursuance [sic] of a resolution of the Senate Statements of the expenditures of the Government of the Republic in various ways which the US Govt has through its late Charge agreed to refund. Should you however reach the City before Genl Houston please take the package from the Post Office & open it as its contents are for your joint use. It is a large package marked Executive Department Texas and is the only one sent from that department to Genl Houston. The papers in regard to the Snively & Red River Custom house Cases you will find with the papers of the Texian Legation in Washington City left in the Care of Mr. Hammersley. We are all anxious to hear what course Genl Houston & yourself will take upon the Oregon question as we learn the result depends upon you & that the matter will be delayed until you reach the City. I think their [sic] is a decided opinion here amongst the most thinking men *against* giving the notice—I have changed from

¹From the Thomas J. Rusk Papers, 1844-1847.

my first impressions upon the subject after see— [sic] what has been said and reflecting upon [*the subject*—canceled] fully. A notice it seems to me would surely lead to a war provided the matter could not be settled by negotiation within the year; and the consequences of a War to Texas and the whole south would be dreadful—with Mexico & England both upon us we would be in a worse condition in Texas than we ever have been. There is a growing disposition to avoid a war with England with all of our most reflecting men— An attempt was made to get up instructions to yourself & Genl Houston by some senators to go for the notice but it could not be carried and I am satisfied the contrary instructions could be voted but those who reflect most do not wish to give you *any* but leave you free to act as circumstances may seem to require. I shall look with great interest for the final action of the U S Senate upon this subject. I am much engaged and have been quite unwell. I will write soon again

Yours very Truly
Henderson

PS. Dr Moss Johnson late Treasurer of the Republic has informed me that he is an applicant for an Indian Agency in Texas under the U S Govt and requested me to ask you to lend your good Offi es [sic] to aid him. He is I think well qualifed and has by by [sic] the Change of Govt thrown out of office. Raymond is elected Treasurer

[Endorsed]

Mch. 9— 1846—
Gov. Henderson—
To Gen. Rusk—

Gives his view on the Oregon Question
Is against giving [notice]
does not want a war
with England
and Mexico the
same time—
From
Gov Henderson
1846

A Note of Thanks

M R. AND MRS. WILLIAM M. MORGAN of Galveston have contributed another splendid gift to the Library: 166 volumes of Americana, dating from 1871 to 1944, many being first editions.

Of special interest are 22 volumes of Mark Twain, including a dozen first editions, among them being *Huckleberry Finn* (1885) and *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894); 6 volumes of Joel Chandler Harris; 5 volumes of W. D. Howells, all but one being first editions, including *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885); 3 volumes of Thomas Nelson Page; 5 volumes of F. Hopkinson Smith; and 61 volumes of Booth Tarkington. Among the numerous other first editions are Winston Churchill's *The Crisis* (1901), Stephen Crane's *Active Service* (1899), Joel Chandler Harris's *The Chronicles of Aunt Minervy Ann* (1899), Bret Harte's *Cressy* (1889), and Frank Norris's *A Man's Woman* (1900) and *The Pit* (1903).

This fine collection of books, added to our holdings in American literature, fills in a number of gaps and provides duplicates which may be protected from wear. To Mr. and Mrs. Morgan our grateful thanks!

Recent Books by the University Staff

THE ENGLISH DICTIONARY FROM CAWDREY TO JOHNSON: 1604-1755. By De Witt T. Starnes and Gertrude E. Noyes. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. 299, x pp. with 16 plates. \$3.50.

For most of us the English dictionary sprang fully panoplied, if not from the head of Noah Webster, as many would spontaneously be inclined to believe, at any rate from that of Dr. Johnson, and in two stout volumes. That there were predecessors, in the Baileys of the early eighteenth, and in the various earlier lexicons of the seventeenth century, has, of course, long been known, and that story has been told before, in special study and in survey. Now for the first time, thanks to the indefatigable researches of Professor Starnes, of The University of Texas, and of Professor Noyes, of Connecticut College, we are presented in full specific detail, with ample quotation and collation, with photographs of title pages and with organized comparisons, the chronological development of the English dictionary from Cawdrey's small octavo, *A Table Alphebetical, conteyning and teaching the true writing and understanding of hard vsuall English words*, of 1604, through the series ending with the handsome Scott-Bailey, in folio, *A New Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, which came out in 1755 in competition with Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*. This latter lies outside the limits of this study, though it is discussed in certain of its aspects in relation to its predecessors.

We like to think of dictionary making and its sales promotion as peculiarly of our time. We recall the killings made

in dictionaries in the not so very distant era of the cross-word puzzle of the interbellum decades. We are familiar with drug store dictionaries, cigar store dictionaries, and the pompously, yet seductively, advertized word-books designed to serve as bait for newspaper or magazine subscriptions. We recognize these phenomena with a vernacular, "Yes, that's us." But it is illuminating to realize that dictionaries have always been good business. A glance at the appropriate sections of Kennedy's *A Bibliography of the Writings on the History of the English Language* will afford an amazing series of titles and editions of both all-English and of the earlier foreign language-English dictionaries, the latter stretching back into the Middle Ages. As revealing as Kennedy's listing may be with regard to the steadily growing market for dictionaries in England since 1500, its true significance can be determined only after personal examination of the books themselves, in detail and comparatively, with evaluation of title pages, prefaces, letters of commendation, as well as of the actual readings of the word-lists. Such study is, owing to the difficulty of access to these books, not possible in this country except in a very few centers, and not easy even there. The fruits of such an investigation, carried out widely and guided by the imagination, critical and creative, of two trained scholars, are now ours, thanks to the volume which is the subject of this comment.

Of the English dictionaries before Johnson, Professor Starnes has been responsible for those of the seventeenth, and Professor Noyes of those of the eighteenth century. They have examined the successive editions of each dictionary, determining the ideals set for each and the compiler's realization of them, his changes of plan and treatment, his sources, the influences received and transmitted, the clientele to which the book was addressed, and, when possible, the methods of publication and distribution.

Particularly of interest for its cultural significance is the continuous interaction between dictionary maker, dictionary, and public.

Styles in dictionaries changed. What served in 1604 would not do in 1706. The many books and numerous editions of each are index of an ever-growing consumer public and the increasingly more exacting demands made of lexicographers. The dictionary played an important part in the spread of literacy and in enlarging and precising the verbal world of the contemporary reading and writing public. Its popularity is reflected in the many editions issued of the individual books. Thus, Bullokar's *An English Expositor*, the second all-English dictionary, ran through fourteen editions between 1616 and 1731, and that in competition with Philips, Coles, and Kersey; Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie*, the third English dictionary, shows twelve editions between 1623 and 1670. Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* saw thirty editions between 1721 and 1802; this is exclusive of the other Bailey dictionaries: the supplementary volume of 1727, in seven editions, the two editions of the *Dictionarium Britannicum*, and the three editions of the Scott-Bailey.

The dictionary must have been a steady money-maker. Because it sold well, it invited publishers and compilers. Competition and the expanding world of ideas encouraged the trade to revise its products continually and to keep up with the steadily more exacting demands of the consumer world,—a healthy situation for that rapidly developing institution, the English dictionary.

What about dictionaries before 1604? What did writers of the sixteenth century use for dictionaries? and the serious writers of the greater part of the seventeenth century?—for the early all-English word-books could hardly have served the needs of Donne, Browne, Burton, Milton, Hobbes, and Dryden? This problem of the dictionaries of Renaissance England has been engaging for several years the attention of Professor Starnes. He has recently been on leave of absence from The University of Texas, continuing his research in this field, and has in hand a book on this very subject.

Of special interest to Texans is the check list of English dictionaries before Johnson, with their various editions, and with indications of the libraries of this country where they are to be found. It is impressive that so many are available at one place or another: of the 146 separate books and editions listed, all but 24 are reported as being in an American library. Of these 146 books, The University of Texas has 33. It is informative to compare the holdings of those libraries which, according to this check-list, show ten or more of these items:

Yale 62	Illinois 32
Library of Congress 45	Folger Library 14
New York Public Library 41	Huntington Library 14
Harvard 40	Michigan 12
Boston Public Library 34	Princeton 10
Texas 33	

Significant is the fact that of the 33 books at Texas, 20 are books of the early period, the seventeenth century, and 13 of the later period, the eighteenth century. Their number as well as distribution reflect that The University of Texas owes its high ranking in this field, among the six top libraries of this country, to the presence on our faculty of Professor Starnes. Now these books are rare, in spite of the great numbers that were printed, because they were literally worn to pieces in actual use. It is the strong interest and active research of Professor Starnes, his careful watching of book catalogues, and his encouragement of the University Library to buy these books as they came on the market, that have enabled our library to be as strong as it is in this field. These holdings are now part of the resources of the State of Texas. Here is a clear example of the sort of enrichment that a great library receives from an active and creative scholar working in its midst with the support and encouragement of the institution itself. Every serious worker, from graduate student through full professor, working at this institution, using its resources, noting its deficiencies, and advising the book buying committees of the opportunities

that arise to improve our holdings, helps build up the greater library of The University of Texas.

That The University of Texas stands so high in this field is all the more noteworthy as one recalls, on the one hand, the relative youth of our library, particularly of the Rare Book Collections, and, on the other, of our relatively slenderer resources for buying books. Yale, for example, is blessed with a group known as the Friends of the Yale Library, who concern themselves with raising money to help Yale get certain rare books that the library cannot acquire on its regular budget. A Texan who is minded to build up the spiritual and intellectual riches and resources of this state would do well to consider the University Library, the true heart of The University of Texas, and in particular to build up the Rare Book Collections. He would thus have him a monument, though not such as to attract the plaudits of sports writers, at any rate, more enduring, as the poets would put it, than bronze and cement, one that would transmute itself continually into warm life and thought in the living minds of generations of Texans to come.

R. W.

New Acquisitions

THIS SECTION reviews from time to time the important gifts and purchases received in the Library for the period between issues of the CHRONICLE. It is a selective list, and is not always able to mention every item which may be worthy of attention, but it is intended that it shall always be representative of the more significant type of acquisitions.

LATIN AMERICAN COLLECTION I

Addition of Juan Antonio de la Peña, *Derrotero de la expedición en la provincia de los Texas, . . .* (México, 1722) fills a serious lacuna in our holdings on this early period of Mexican Texas history. Peña, the author, was chaplain of the expedition led into Texas in 1720 by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo. His purpose was to frustrate the designs of the French from Louisiana, whose encroachments on the mission settlements of East Texas formed a constant menace to the Spanish dominions.

The expedition of five hundred men which set out from Coahuila in November, 1720, was the last of its kind into Texas and exceeded all earlier ones in size and results. By it Spain's hold on Texas was secured for over a hundred years. When the Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo left the region in 1722, Texas had ten missions instead of seven, four presidios instead of two, and two hundred and sixty-eight soldiers instead of some sixty.

Peña's account of the expedition was translated into English by Peter P. Forrestal in 1935 and published under the title "Peña's Diary of the Aguayo Expedition" in *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, II (1935), and several excellent studies of the expedition have been made: Eleanor Claire Buckley, "The Aguayo Expedition into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722" in *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XV, No. 1 (July, 1911), 1-65;

Charles W. Hackett, "Visitador Rivera's Criticism of Aguayo's Work in Texas," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XV (1936), 162-172; C. E. Castañeda, *The Winning of Texas* (Paul J. Foik, ed., *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936*, II, Austin, 1936), 115-148; Charmion Shelby, "Efforts to Finance the Aguayo Expedition," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXV (Feb., 1945), 27-44; and Charles W. Hackett, "The Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo and His Recovery of Texas from the French, 1719-1723," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLIX (October, 1945), 193-214. All of these studies along with a photostat of the original draft of Peña's *Derrotero de la expedición . . .* to be found in the San Francisco el Grande Archive have been available in the library for study of this important expedition, but not until now has the rare printed edition been made accessible.

II

The Concejo de Bogotá, Colombia, besides publishing a magazine entitled *Registro Municipal* and annual editions of its *Acuerdos* (minutes), sponsors the publication of books of various kinds. Recently it has presented several of these to the library. One of them is a definitive biography entitled *Francisco Antonio Zea* (Bogotá, 1945), written by Roberto Botero Saldariaga, past president of the Academia Colombiana de Historia. This is indeed a welcome addition, for while countless are the biographies of Simón Bolívar, the great liberator, few are those of outstanding men who aided him. Among them was Francisco Antonio Zea, sometimes called the Benjamin Franklin of Colombia.

Zea, a naturalist, editor, author and statesman, was born in Medellín, in November, 1766, and was educated at Popayán and Bogotá. In 1795, he was involved in the circulation of a Spanish edition of the *Rights of Man* and was imprisoned in Cadiz, Spain. Released on condition that he not return to his country, he was welcomed by scientists of Madrid, who helped him obtain a pension to continue his studies in Paris. After his return to Madrid in 1801, he was appointed director of the

botanical garden, and became editor of the *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes* (23v, Sevilla, Madrid, 1797–1808) and of the *Mercurio de España* (85v, Madrid, 1738–182?). The library has the first fifteen volumes of the *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes*. Usually four volumes of the *Mercurio de España* were printed annually. The library has those for the years 1760–1807, 1815–1820.

Permission for Zea to return home was repeatedly denied, but through his association with the French he finally managed to do so in 1815, and took an active part with Bolívar in the war of independence. When Bolívar, in 1818, decided to have a weekly published to combat royalist propaganda, he put Zea in charge. As a result on Saturday, June 27, 1818, the first number of the *Correo del Orinoco* came off the press at Angostura. This periodical, which appeared from June 27, 1818, to March 22, 1822, was inaccessible to most students of South American history until 1939, when under the auspices of the Academia Nacional de la Historia, Caracas, Venezuela, a facsimile reproduction was published in Paris.

Zea in 1819 was a member and president of the first Constituent Assembly of Angostura, and was elected Vice-President of Venezuela and later of the republic of Colombia (1819). He died in England in 1822, having been sent there as Minister to England and France with instructions to negotiate loans for the new government.

Shortly before his death in England, he conceived the idea of publishing a two-volume work that would give a complete picture of his native land. This work was published simultaneously in English and Spanish under the title *Colombia: siendo una relación, geográfica, topográfica, agricultural, comercial, política, &c. de aquel pays, adaptado para todo lector en general, y para el comerciante y colono en particular* (2v, Londres, 1822). Gustavo Otero Muñoz in his *Semblanzas Colombianas* (2v, Bogotá, 1938), I, 168, says that while the idea, plan and conception of the work was Zea's, the actual work was done largely by others.

Francisco Paula de Santander, another of Bolívar's aides, has fared somewhat better than Francisco Zea. Two biographies—Guillermo Camacho Montoya, *Santander el hombre y el mito* (Bogotá, n.d.) and Max Grillo, *El hombre de las leyes* (Bogotá, 1940)—and collections of his works: *Archivo Santander* (25v, Bogotá, 1913–1932), *Santander en sus escritos* (Bogotá, 1944) and others, have been published. To these the Concejo de Bogotá added another with its publication of a volume entitled *Centenario de la Muerte del General Francisco de P. Santander 1840–Mayo 6–1940* (Bogotá, 1940). These works along with the two volume *Acuerdos del consejo de gobierno de la república de Colombia 1821–1827* (Bogotá, 1940–1942) make available material from which can be obtained a fairly accurate knowledge of Santander, the soldier, orator, author and statesman.

The *Acuerdos del consejo de gobierno de la república de Colombia 1821–1827*, mentioned above, which also forms a part of the Ediciones del Concejo, is a very useful tool to any student of Colombian history and culture. It contains the minutes of the concejo, an advisory council to the president during the early days of the republic; and each volume has a calendar and an excellent index.

NEWSPAPER COLLECTION

The University of Texas recently acquired the publisher's file of the *Freie Presse für Texas*: triweekly, 1866–1875, daily 1875–1918, weekly, 1880–1945. This paper was begun by August Siemering in 1865, and suspended publication October 28, 1945. It extends across almost the entire period of the German language press of this state.

The earliest German language paper to be published in Texas was the *Galveston Zeitung*, 1846–1853[?]. Half a dozen others appeared before the outbreak of the Civil War. Only two weathered that storm: *Der Texas Demokrat* (Houston) and the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*. Soon after the war they were joined by newcomers whose rise and decline may be

briefly sketched by indicating the number published at ten year intervals: 1877—10, 1887—15, 1897—25, 1907—29, 1917—22, 1927—11, 1937—7, 1946—2.

Survivors of World War I were the following:

- Austin, *Das Wochenblatt* (estab. 1891, at Bellville; removed to Austin in 1909)
Fredericksburg, *Das Wochenblatt* (1877)
Giddings, *Das Volksblatt* (1899)
Hallettsville, *Lavaca County Nachrichten* (1896)
La Grange, *Deutsche Zeitung* (1890)
New Braunfels, *Zeitung* (1852)
San Antonio, *Freie Presse für Texas* (1865)
Seguin, *Zeitung* (1891)
Taylor, *Herold* (1895)
Waco, *Post* (1891)

No German language paper was started after World War I; only four of those listed above survived World War II; namely, those published at Fredericksburg, Giddings, New Braunfels, and San Antonio, and two of these have since demised, leaving those at Giddings and New Braunfels to carry on.

Those who may wish to turn to the German language press for information may consult files of the following papers in the State Library and The University of Texas Library. The dates show years covered by each file.

Austin: <i>Texas Staats Zeitung</i>	1859-1860	Tx.
Austin: <i>Texas Vorwärts</i>	1883-1914	TxU.
Austin: <i>Das Wochenblatt</i>	1909-1925	TxU.
Bastrop: <i>Deutsche Zeitung</i>	1873-1874	Tx.
Bellville: <i>Das Wochenblatt</i>	1891-1909	TxU.
Brenham: <i>Texas Volksbote</i>	1873-1918	Tx.
Fredericksburg: <i>Das Wochenblatt</i>	1913-1933	TxU.
Galveston: <i>Der Evangelische Apologete</i>	1855-1856	TxU.
Galveston: <i>Texas Post</i>	1870-1877	Tx.
Galveston: <i>Die Union</i>	1860-1861, 1866-1867	Tx.
Houston: <i>Der Texas Demokrat</i>	1862-1866	Tx.
New Braunfels: <i>N. B. Zeitung</i>	1853-1872	Tx.
San Antonio: <i>S. A. Zeitung</i>	1853-1856	Tx.
San Antonio: <i>Texas Staats Zeitung</i>	1856-1861	Tx.
San Antonio: <i>Freie Presse für Texas</i>	1866-1945	TxU.

RARE BOOK COLLECTIONS

Seldom have the University's libraries of English and American literature received a gift so fortunate as that recently made by Mr. and Mrs. E. L. De Golyer of Dallas. In itself, the De Golyer Collection is significant. Its volumes, more than twelve hundred of them, provide valuable matter for the scholarly study of modern literature. To its own distinction is added a second value: at many points, the collection fortifies the University's resources in rare books of poetry, fiction, and drama. By filling gaps among research materials—particularly in the period since 1890—it will greatly facilitate critical and bibliographical study at Texas. Specific rare items will excite the general reader and inform the student; as a whole, the collection will give sturdy aid to future scholarship.

In collecting books Mr. De Golyer, who was Distinguished Professor of Geology at the University in 1940, records the wide journeying of a mind curious about all sorts of things and all conditions of writing men. Philosophy, humor, fiction, poetry, travels, and criticism assure this library attention in any company. The variety is specially notable among separate items which stand apart from whole shelves devoted to single authors. Let these titles chosen at random confirm that fact—all are first editions: Sir Thomas Browne's *Works*, Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, Gay's *Trivia*, Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, Keats' *Endymion*, essays of Emerson, novels of Hawthorne, poems of Longfellow, and Mark Twain's two most memorable stories of boyhood.

Among the first editions, presentation and association copies are prominent. They include Hans Christian Andersen's autographed *Eventyr og Historier*, Dickens' own copy of *Household Words*, Landor's *Gebir* autographed by Lamb, a manuscript journal of Thomas Stevenson from the library of RLS, and a large number of limited editions signed. There are numerous

autograph letters, several of them loaded with biographical and bibliographical details.

In addition to these rare single items, more than thirty authors are extensively represented. Among the Americans, Melville and Whitman are most prominent. First editions, short manuscripts, and standard critical works illustrate the literary career of both authors. For a dozen other Americans the collection speaks almost as fully; and there is no encyclopedic monotony in their names: James Branch Cabell, Finley Peter Dunne, Robert Frost, Bret Harte, William McFee, Don Marquis, Christopher Morley, Eugene O'Neill, E. A. Robinson, and Booth Tarkington.

Among the English writers, four appear in almost definitive series; they are Samuel Butler, Rudyard Kipling, Walter de la Mare, and Sheila Kaye-Smith. Other shelves which are sure to encourage later study are filled with rare works of Hardy, Conrad, Bennett, and Galsworthy; of Bridges, Brooke, Masefield, and Sassoon.

More than one scholar will be made by turning over these books.

GENERAL

Recent book purchases of the Library include two notable publications in the field of Geology, the *Expedition Geological of the University of Amsterdam to the Lesser Sunda Islands . . . and Fossilium Catalogus*. The report on the Lesser Sunda Islands, made under the direction of Hendrik A. Brouwer, is significant because of the coverage of a relatively unknown region. From the standpoint of mineral and petroleum resources, and because of the geographic position of the terrane along previous land routes of migration for land vertebrates, this report is of especial importance.

In 1758 Carolus Linnaeus published his 10th edition of the *Systema Naturae* and thereby established modern scientific methods of description of animals. Thousands of scientific

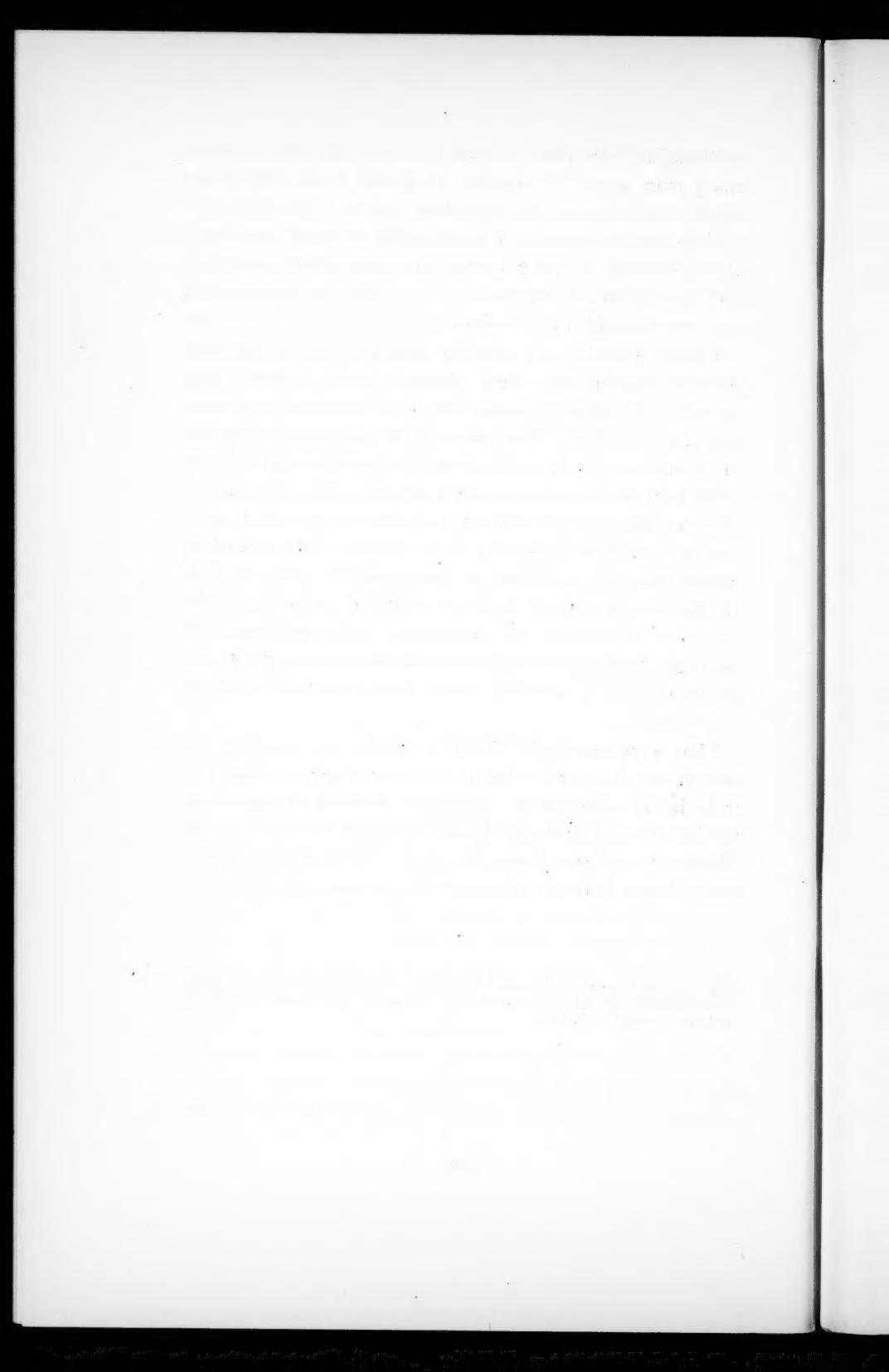
systematists have followed since Linnaeus and have described many more species of animals, living and fossil. Today this descriptive literature is so enormous and so scattered through various publications that it is impossible to know how many species of fossil or living animals have been named, described, and investigated. There must be several millions of them, and new ones are added all the time.

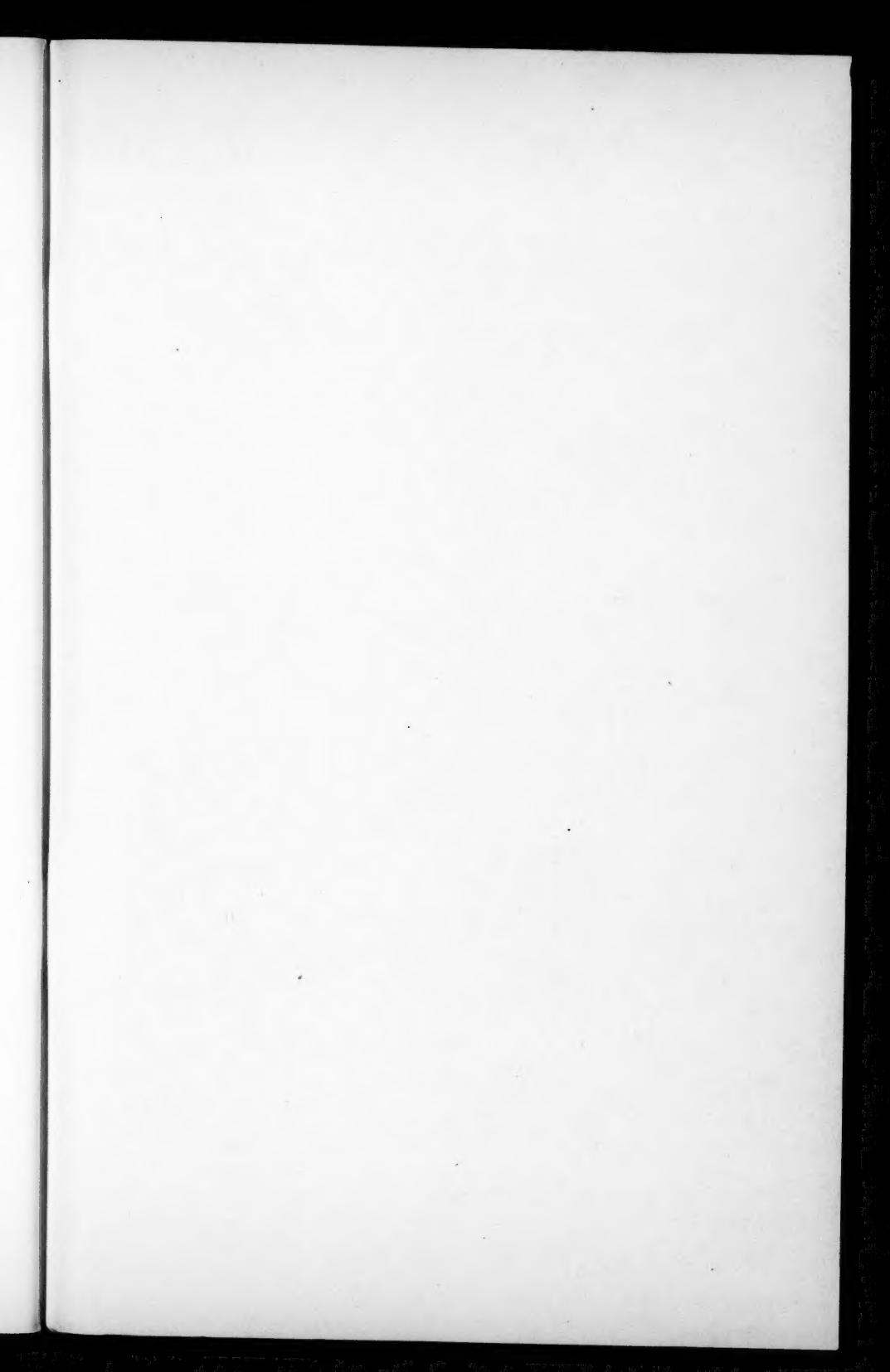
Clearly there is great need for a review of what has been done in this enormous field. Scientific reviews of this field are of many different kinds. One kind is the series entitled *Fossilium Catalogus*. This review treats only the fossil species of animals and is of prime interest to paleontologists. Each volume treats one group of fossil animals. There is one volume on Decapod Crustaceans, one on Triassic Ammonites, one on fossil land snails, etc. Each volume is the work of an expert who has specialized in that particular field. In each volume one can find all literature references pertaining to the species of this group—all descriptions and investigations of each and every species. In addition the various species are properly classified according to the most advanced system of classification.

Thus a paleontologist living in Austin, for instance, can at a glance familiarize himself with any group of fossil animals that is treated in the *Catalogus*. Were he to find a new species of fossil here in Austin he could readily ascertain whether it has been already described, what its related species are, and what has been written on this particular group.



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the first time in the history of the world, the people of the United States have been compelled to make a choice between two political parties.

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